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Sermon Notes from John Donne in the Manuscripts of Francis Russell, Fourth Earl of Bedford

1. Introduction

Scholars of John Donne (1571-1631) need little reminding that they have at their disposal a comparatively large corpus of manuscripts containing texts of Donne's works: primarily poetry, but also prose and correspondence. The poetic manuscripts are by far the best known and most widely studied: to date, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* has accounted for 239 manuscripts, which jointly "amount to well over 5,000 separate transcriptions of individual poems."¹ There are fewer manuscripts of Donne's sermons and other prose works, but scholars have recently signaled a renewed interest in them, especially the sermons, in large part owing to the fact that early-modern sermon studies as a whole is experiencing a surge of activity.² Scholarship of Donne's sermons has also been revitalized by Jeanne Shami's discovery of three previously unknown manuscripts, one containing the unique evidence of emendations in Donne's hand.³ A total of 160 sermons are extant in full texts. The majority of these were printed, a few in Donne's lifetime, and the remainder after his death in three folios of 1640, 1649, and 1660/61.⁴ Twenty sermons also circulated in manuscript, and counting duplicates across ten witnesses, the total number of Donne's sermons in manuscript is fifty-six.⁵

It may come as a surprise, then, that there was until recently rather a shortage of ancillary manuscript evidence: that is, hearing notes taken at, or shortly after, attendance, or reading notes from print or manuscript. Sermon note-taking was widely practiced by early-modern congregations, in part to assist in what Arnold Hunt has described as the "art of hearing."⁶ Donne enjoyed a high contemporary reputation as a preacher, and his sermons were not infrequently talked about, for instance by the letter writer John Chamberlain, or the diarist Simonds D'Ewes. Nevertheless, Donne scholars have had to make do with notes from only two sermons, taken by John Burley (Burleigh) in his commonplace book (Trinity College Dublin, MS 419). P.G. Stanwood, who discovered these notes in 1978, was unsure whether "Burley could have taken down these notes from hearing Donne preach," or that "he might also have seen the notes and written them out as he found them."⁷ I.A. Shapiro later suggested that Burley's notes must have been made during or shortly after attendance,

not least given the number of evident mishearings, which would not have occurred if Burley had a written source.⁸ Stanwood was correct, however, to conclude that such notes had enormous potential: they could “bring us nearer than we have ever been to Donne’s actual preaching, to his first thoughts as contrasted with the eloquent contrivances of his later study.”⁹

It is the purpose of this article to confirm that Burley was not unique in his attention to Donne as a preacher, by presenting a significant and almost entirely overlooked collection of manuscripts that contain sermon notes from Donne, and much else. These are the notebooks and commonplace books of Francis Russell, fourth earl of Bedford (1587-1641), held at Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire.¹⁰ Born into a family that had established great political influence during the Elizabethan period, Russell pursued a successful career: as a member of the House of Commons, then the Lords, and as an increasingly powerful parliamentarian. As a frequent attender at the courts of James VI and I and Charles I, Russell was ideally placed to hear Donne preach, and his notebooks reveal that he was an avid sermon-goer, at court and elsewhere. He was also an inveterate scribbler, and his manuscripts contain notes from ten Donne sermons: six of these are hearing notes taken during or shortly after attendance, and the other four taken from reading. And this is not all, since Russell also read, annotated, and extracted from several of Donne’s prose works, and his poetry. The full extent of these transcriptions is so voluminous as to make Russell one of the most sustained and wide-ranging contemporary respondents to Donne; and a respondent, moreover, who has hitherto escaped nearly all critical attention.

The fourth earl of Bedford does not regularly surface in literary history; instead, he is better known for his parliamentary work in the lead-up to the Civil War.¹¹ In the words of his *ODNB* biographer Conrad Russell, “he was the leading figure in the junto of parliamentary leaders in 1640,” and a patron to men such as John Pym and Oliver St John. As an indication of his contemporary esteem, he was described by the earl of Clarendon as “the one man who, if he had lived, could have prevented the civil war from taking place.”¹² Far less is known of his earliest years, but it appears that he spent them in Ireland, where his father, William Russell, first baron of Thornhaugh, was lord deputy from 1594-97. He returned to England to be schooled, graduating from King’s College, Cambridge in 1602, and enrolling at Lincoln’s Inn in 1608.¹³ Russell sat in the House of Commons

from 1610, and, as Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, in the House of Lords from 1614-1626. In 1627, he inherited the earldom of Bedford, after the death of his uncle the third earl, Edward Russell (1572–1627). It is at present unclear how much experience Francis Russell might have had of Edward Russell’s wife, Lucy Harington Countess of Bedford, or of her extensive networks of literary and cultural patronage, which famously included Donne.¹⁴ Russell was certainly in frequent contact with another of Donne’s female patrons, Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676).¹⁵ Professional connections (for instance via Lincoln’s Inn, where Russell witnessed Donne preach his *Encaenia* sermon, discussed below), make it possible that Francis had at least a passing acquaintance with Donne. Russell’s interest in Donne as a preacher and political thinker may be explained further by shared politico-religious allegiances. Conrad Russell has noted that “among clergy Bedford’s sympathies span the spectrum with acrobatic skill,” and Russell was “probably the only man in England who could come to the Long Parliament in 1640 claiming the personal friendship of both Pym and Laud.” Furthermore, Russell’s reading centered on “good Jacobean Calvinist conformist Episcopalians such as Joseph Hall, John Davenant, George Carleton, and Robert Sanderson.”¹⁶ Questions as to Donne’s conformity have been the most hotly debated by recent scholars and so Donne cannot readily be entered into the above list of clergymen, but it is safe to say that Russell’s attendance at Donne’s preaching would have exposed him to one of the most sophisticated pulpit rhetoricians of the age, and a preacher, moreover, who quite possibly influenced Russell’s own ideas about the Jacobean and Caroline politics and religion that would so profoundly shape his own life and career.¹⁷

2. Extracting Donne’s Works

The largest part of Russell’s manuscripts under scrutiny here are notebooks: small and portable quarto volumes that would fit inside a pocket, but also larger folios that were kept on a writing desk. Russell’s copying of Donne’s verse and sermons side by side is uncommon, since the greatest part of surviving Donne manuscripts segregate the genres (however, the prose *Paradoxes and Problems*, also copied by Russell, did often feature alongside Donne’s poems in manuscript). The presence of extracts from Donne’s poetry among Russell’s papers was not discovered until Peter Beal surveyed a few volumes from the Woburn collection, including HMC 26, which he noted contained “some other

prose extracts,” which remained unidentified.¹⁸ The core of this essay will deal with the sermon notes, but since the corpus of manuscripts at Woburn Abbey is not well-known, the following list gives for the first time Russell’s entire collection of extracts from Donne, organized by HMC shelfmark, and followed by a select bibliography of extant witnesses and some cross-references.¹⁹

Sermons

- HMC 18, fols. 1r-6r: reading notes from a funeral sermon for Magdalene Herbert, Lady Danvers, 1 July 1627. Printed 1627, STC 7049. Keynes 23, PS VIII.2, CELM DnJ 4052.8.
- HMC 19, pp. 101-2, 114-15: hearing notes from a sermon to the king at Whitehall, 16 February 1621. Printed 1660/1, Wing D 1872. Keynes 31, PS III.9, CELM DnJ 4174. Bodleian Library MS Eng. th. c. 7; Houghton Library, Harvard University MS Eng D66.4; National Library of Scotland MS 5767; St Paul’s Cathedral Library MS 52.D.14.
- HMC 20, pp. 5-6: reading notes from a sermon at Paul’s Cross, the “Directions sermon,” 15 September 1622. Printed 1622, STC 7053. Keynes 12, PS IV.7.
- HMC 20, pp. 13-14: reading notes from a sermon to the Virginia Company, 13 November 1622. Printed 1622, STC 7051. Keynes 15, PS IV.10.
- HMC 20, pp. 42-43: hearing notes from a sermon at Whitehall, 28 February 1623. Printed 1640, STC 7038. Keynes 29; PS IV.13, CELM DnJ 4175. British Library MS Harley 6946.
- HMC 20, pp. 77-78: hearing notes from a sermon at Lincoln’s Inn, “Encaenia,” 22 May 1623. Printed 1623, STC 7039. Keynes 16, PS IV.15.
- HMC 21, p. 1: hearing notes from a sermon at Whitehall, 4 March 1625. Printed 1640, STC 7038. Keynes 29, PS VI.11, CELM DnJ 4177.
- HMC 21, pp. 179-80: hearing notes from sermon at Whitehall, 24 February 1626. Printed 1626, STC 7050. Keynes 21, PS VII.2, CELM DnJ 4178.
- HMC 21, pp. 62-65 reversed: reading notes from a sermon to King Charles, 3 April 1625. Printed 1625, STC 7040. Keynes 19, PS VI.12, CELM DnJ 4179.

- HMC 26, fol. 87r-88r: hearing notes from sermon at Whitehall, 8 March 1622. Printed 1640, STC 7038. Keynes 29, PS IV.1, CELM DnJ 4181. Bodleian Library MS Eng. th. c. 71; Cambridge University Library MS Add. 8469.

Poetry

- HMC 19, fols. 29-36: headed “Dunns Satires.” In fact, these are short extracts from the following poems (not itemized but listed under a single heading in CELM, DnJ 4173): “Satyre IV” (Grierson I, 158), “Loves War” (Grierson I, 122), “Going to Bed” (Grierson I, 119), “Satyre V” (Grierson I, 168), “Satyre II” (Grierson I, 149), “To the Countesse of Bedford” [“You have refin’d mee”] (Grierson I, 191), “To the Countesse of Bedford” [“Reason is our Soules left hand”] (Grierson I, 189), “The Anagram” (Grierson I, 80), “The Dreame” (Grierson I, 95), “The Autumnall” (Grierson I, 92), “His parting from her” (Grierson I, 100), “The Perfume” (Grierson I, 84), “Epitaph on Himselfe: To the Countesse of Bedford” (Grierson I, 291), “Omnibus” (Grierson I, 292), “Death” (Grierson I, 284), “To The Lady Bedford” (Grierson I, 227), “Elegie on the Lady Marckham” (Grierson I, 279), “Elegie on M^{rs} Boulstred” (Grierson I, 282), “The Storme” (Grierson I, 175), “The Calme” (Grierson I, 178), “The Litanie” (Grierson I, 338), “Womans Constancy” (Grierson I, 9).
- HMC 21, pp. 25-26: extracts from “An hymne to the Saints, and to Marquesse Hamylton” (CELM DnJ 1587.5).
- HMC 26, fols. 50r-54v: extracts from the following poems, in order of appearance, “The Autumnall” (CELM DjN 280.5), “Loves Alchymie” (CELM DjN 1984.5), “The undertaking” (CELM 3708.8), “The Storme” (CELM DnJ 3086.3), “The Calme” (CELM DnJ 569.5), “Elegie on the Lady Marckham” (CELM DnJ 1086.5), “Breake of day” (CELM DnJ 452.5), “A Letter to the Lady Carey, and Mrs Essex Riche, From Amyens” (Grierson I, 221; CELM erroneously lists DnJ 1894.5, “A licentious person”), “Loves Progress” (CELM DnJ 2149.5), “Natures lay Ideot, I taught thee to love” (CELM DnJ 2356.5), “Loves War” (CELM DnJ 2224), “The Anagram” (CELM DnJ 74.5), “Satyre II” (CELM DnJ 2785.3), “Satyre III” (Grierson I, 158), “Going to Bed” (CELM DnJ 3191.5), “The Litanie” (CELM DnJ 1946.5).

Other Works and Unidentified items attributed to Donne

- HMC 20, p. 161: extracts from “Duns deuotions upon his seknes.” Printed 1624, STC 7033.
Keynes 34, CELM DnJ 4176.
- HMC 22, p. 43: unidentified extract, “Some tiems the croses of this world driues a man intoe a new church for ther ar sume that think that cannot be a good church in which thay haue liued ill or not prospered it may be a way of gods Iustice when a man will loue the cross superstitiously to giue hime inough of it by multipliing crosses uppon him: Doc: Dunn for Sir Frat Harrise.”
- HMC 22, p. 258: unidentified sermon notes, commencing “Suidas calls Jobe the Anvill of patience, and Prosper will haue him to be the only man for patience except our Sauour,” headed “Deane of Pauls Sermon Text Job: 7.20.”
- HMC 24, back flyleaf: unidentified extract, “moer stars under the north then western poell: dunn.”
- HMC 26, fols. 44r-47r: extracts from seventeen “Paradoxes and Problems,” headed “Dunss problems.” Eleven “Paradoxes” and ten “Problems” were printed in 1633, STC 7043; circulated extensively in manuscript during Donne’s lifetime. CELM DnJ 4081.5.
- HMC 26, fol. 81v: unidentified extract headed “out of dunn,” commencing “Helth is the peace of the humers, harmony the peace of the instrument, truth the peace of the [politician], strength the peace of the memberse.”

The three lists above are not quite complete, since Russell also caused to be copied, by his secretaries, yet more materials from Donne into a formal commonplace book under headings (HMC 11), consisting of nearly four thousand pages in a large folio format. HMC 11 was the end-station for Russell’s reading notes that were initially gathered in the much looser organized notebooks (such as the ones listed above), so there is a certain amount of duplication across the two kinds of manuscript. The commonplace book is so vast that it is impracticable to prepare an exhaustive inventory of all the extracts culled from Donne in it, but, in order to illustrate the function of these manuscripts within the larger context of Russell’s library, some examples will be drawn from HMC 11 below. A great deal more also remains to be said about Donne’s poems listed above. The extracted poems in HMC 19 are

interspersed with works from other poets, for instance Francis Beaumont, Edward Herbert, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Benjamin Rudyerd and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Thomas Overbury. All of these poems commonly circulated with Donne's in manuscript, and so doubtless Russell had at his disposal a verse miscellany from which he copied. The poetic extracts in HMC 26 follow a similar pattern, and even draw from some of the same poems as those in HMC 19, but Russell's selections are different. Russell thus either repeatedly visited the same exemplar, or he took notes from different manuscripts as they passed through his hands. This article cannot accommodate further discussion of the poetic extracts, nor of the prose items listed under "Other Works" — but suffice it to say at this stage that these extracts demonstrate Russell's extensive interest in Donne's works, and his wide access to prints and manuscripts.

Regarding the items listed under "Other Works" that relate to the sermons, several still require more research, such as the notes taken from the "Deane of Pauls sermon" on Job 7.20. HMC 22 was "begann 1626: 18 of May," and the latest explicitly dated items are the sermon notes from "Mr Tho. Blech." at "Woburn this ester 1633", two years after Donne's death.²⁰ The dean's sermon appears in a long stretch of notes taken by Francis Russell's secretary, which cannot readily be dated. As no Donne sermon on Job 7.20 survives, it is possible that the notes derive from a lost Donne sermon (predating 25 February 1631, when Donne preached *Death's Duell*); more likely, however, they relate to a sermon preached by Donne's successor as dean, Thomas Winniffe.²¹ The attribution to Donne given in HMC 26, fol. 81v, a page-long extract, may relate to another lost Donne sermon. It is exceedingly difficult to piece together an entire sermon from a set of reductive notes, and the present essay cannot accommodate such speculative work, but it is important to recognize here that several conundrums relating to the extracts from Donne remain to be solved.

Finally, the fragment in HMC 22, p. 43, is of special interest, and a brief discussion of it can help to contextualize the other sermon notes. The fragment is short (quoted in full above), and subscribed "Doc: Dunn for Sir Frat Harrise." In other words, this is a text by Donne for a certain Sir Francis Harris (perhaps a pastoral letter or other type of record of Donne's counsel), or, a passage from Donne, extracted by Russell, for the benefit of Harris. The text plays on the worldly "crosses" (trials) that may drive a dissatisfied believer into another (presumably Roman) church, and on the

crucifixes “superstitiously” adored by Catholics, which ironically result in God’s “multipliing crosses upon him.” No exact source for the entire fragment can be identified, but in at least three Donne sermons, close analogies can be found, for instance: “as soon as our sins induce any worldly crosse, any calamity upon us, we come to think of another Church, another Religion, and conclude, That that cannot be a good Church, in which we have lived in.”²² If this fragment’s subscription indicates a record of pastoral care, then Donne probably drew from his stock sermonic imagery to underscore his argument. This in itself is interesting enough, but more can be said about the confluence of Donne, a certain Harris, and Francis Russell. Whereas it cannot be proved they were the same people, a Sir Francis Harris of Southminster was an impoverished knight living in squalid conditions in London, and he, by his own admission, suffered a crisis of faith at exactly the time Russell compiled this notebook. Most of what is known about this Harris arises from the fact that he was allied by kinship to the Barrington family of Essex. He was so destitute as to be entirely reliant on their charity — and especially that of the matriarch Joan Barrington, a patroness of considerable influence in puritan circles.²³ On 15 December 1628 he wrote to thank her for a new set of clothes, asked for funds to purchase a new sword, and reported that he was in bad health and so had come “to a loe ebbe.” He also narrated the circumstances of his recent conversion: “It was my purpose to have send yow a new booke of Sir Humphry Loynde his setting forthe which hathe a coherence in some sorte with that booke (caled *Via Tuta*) which was the meanes of my convertione, beseeching yow to bee perswaded that noe wordely respect moved mee thereunto (for that waye I have disadvantaged my selfe if it weare to bee valewed) but meerely the favor of God towards mee most especyally, and next the reasons of the aforesaid boke and the perswations of my loveing freindes.”²⁴ The book that affected Harris’s conversion was Humphry Lynde’s *Via Tuta*, in which Lynde set out to prove that “the Protestant Church was in all ages visible, especially in the ages before Luther.”²⁵ Harris’s letter detailing his conversion is striking in relation to the note in Russell’s manuscript, but what complicates matters is that Harris most likely converted to Anglicanism not as a moderate Catholic (Lynde’s prime audience), but as a non-conformist puritan, especially since he was patronized by the godly Barringtons who took pride in their particular brand of predestinarian Calvinism.²⁶ If indeed Harris followed Lynde’s advice and abandoned non-conformity, then it would also follow that Donne

would welcome the move and have no need to caution Harris. From this perspective, Francis Russell's note and Harris's letter may not speak of the same event, or may even relate to different people. However, Russell himself also corresponded with Joan Barrington, and with other members of that family, in order to negotiate the marriage of his protégé Oliver St John to Joanna Altham, Barrington's grand-daughter. Joan Barrington, moreover, was born Joan Cromwell: Oliver Cromwell was her nephew. Russell, then, may have known Harris, and could therefore either obtain a record of Donne's counsel, or alternatively, could himself put Donne's works to good use for Harris's benefit.

This short and tantalizing fragment associated with Donne, in tandem with the further potential contexts offered by Harris's letter, illustrates a larger hermeneutical problem associated with Russell's reading records. In the words of Francis Bacon, "in general one man's notes will little profit another, because one man's conceit doth so much differ from another's; and also because the bare note itself is nothing so much worth as the suggestion it gives to the reader."²⁷ Bacon understood that any note-taker's "conceit" and "suggestion" — or, contextual thought-processes — crucially inflect a manuscript notebook, and these processes could be difficult to retrieve even for contemporary readers, let alone later scholars. Thus, exactly how to read the fragment regarding Donne and Harris remains unclear, at least until more can be discovered of Donne's relation with the latter. When assessing Russell's notebooks, Bacon's advice needs to be kept in mind at all times; however, this essay will also suggest the various ways in which Russell's responses to Donne can be contextualized by close examination of his note-taking techniques, by biographical and topical inference, and more generally, by attention to the political circumstances of Donne's sermons and their delivery.

3. Sermon Notes

This brings us to a detailed assessment of Russell's extracts of ten sermons (above), which will be organized by kind (first the hearing notes, and then the reading records), and will pay particular attention to textual variance (between notes and later witnesses), and any evidence of the sermon in delivery. All notes relate to sermons preached by John Donne between 1621 and 1627. Six relate to court sermons delivered at Whitehall (five of which were attended in person by Russell); the other four were preached at Lincoln's Inn, Paul's Cross, Merchant-Taylors Hall, and Danvers House in

Chelsea. Further, six relate to sermons that were also printed within Donne's life-time, between 1622 and 1627: HMC 18, fols. 1r-6r, HMC 20, pp. 5-6, HMC 20, pp. 13-14, HMC 20, pp. 77-78, HMC 21, p. 179, and HMC 21, pp. 62-65 reversed. Three relate to sermons for which manuscripts were in contemporary circulation: HMC 19, pp. 101-2, 114-15, HMC 20, pp. 42-43, and HMC 26, fols. 87r-88r. Owing to Russell's presence at court and given the intellectual *milieux* in which he moved, it is not impossible that he had access to a sermon manuscript. Yet, the existence of a contemporary witness (print or manuscript) does not pre-empt the possibility that Russell attended the sermon in question, and in such cases, the style of note-taking indicates whether we are dealing with reading or hearing notes. Distinguishing between the two is not necessarily straightforward, since the sermon which is most actively referenced in terms of biblical citations — a feature we would more readily expect from reading notes, with the benefit of marginalia — is in fact one that Russell attended in person.

The clearest case of notes from hearing are those in HMC 21, p. 1, for the simple reason that this sermon was not printed until 1640 (in *LXXX Sermons*), and no other contemporary witness has survived. Despite its brevity, Russell's note of this sermon therefore has claim to being its earliest textual witness. Since HMC 21 is a folio, the practicalities of writing would suggest that Russell took his notes not long after the event. Donne preached this sermon at Whitehall on the first Friday in Lent, 4 March 1625, and it is a tour-de-force: a philosophical enquiry into the essential good of God.²⁸ Donne opened with a comparison between the word of God and his earthly representation, the church, and, in acknowledgement of the occasion, a brief consideration of the fast, expressed in the printed text as "In the Scriptures you have *Præceptum*, The thing itself, What: In the Church, you have the *Nunc*, The time, When."²⁹ Francis Russell responded to this essential distinction, and wrote down that "in The word we haue the preseptum that we must fast from the Church we haue the tempus when we must fast."³⁰ This closely paraphrases Donne, and Russell clearly recalled the Latin parallelism, "*Præceptum*" and "*Nunc*," but replaced the latter with "tempus" instead. Such small but distinctive textual variants invite speculation: either Russell misremembered Donne's exact wording, or, Russell's notes reflect accurately what Donne delivered extemporarily.

Russell took notes solely from the *divisio*, yet he largely disregarded Donne's governing architectural metaphor designed to structure and make accessible to his auditory a complex train of argument: "the Context, as the situation and Prospect of the house, The Pretext, as the Accesse and entrance to the house, And then the Text it selfe, as the House it selfe as the body of the building."³¹ Such omission of Donne's figurative ploys is, on the whole, typical of all of Russell's sermon notes: his eye or ear was mostly drawn towards quotable moralisms and *sententiae*, and only rarely towards Donne's rhetorical artifice. That is not to say, however, that Russell's notes do not at times achieve an admirable economy of expression, or hint at Russell's appreciation of Donne's pulpit rhetoric. For example, in this sermon's *divisio*, Donne, as part of his "Context," relates the dangers of worldly possessions. After considering both the richest and the poorest, Donne concludes that "Every man hath some such possessions as possesse him, some such affections as weigh downe Christ Jesus, and separate him from Him, rather then from those affections, those possessions".³² Russell expressed this differently, but no less attractively, as "euery man hath sumthing to send hime heuy from christ." Furthermore, where Russell repeats some of Donne's examples of rich and poor men, he adds another: "he that stiks in the muer [wall] of the dungen as he that deuls ["dwells"] in the Highest stories of honor."³³ Donne, in the full text as eventually printed, contrasted "he that is ground and trod to durt, with obloquie, and contempt, as well as he that is built up every day, a story and story higher with additions of Honour."³⁴ Donne's "stories of honour" that build up honorable reputations (contrasted with those of slander or "obloquie") neatly pun on "story." In fact, Russell's note of the "muer [wall] of the dungen" fits into this imagistic framework of the *divisio*. The fact that this example is lacking from the printed sermon may be attributed to Russell's own poetic license, but more likely, this image was included during oral delivery of the sermon, and discarded when Donne wrote out the text at greater length.

For a final example of the ways in which Russell's notes reflect Donne's sermon as preached, consider the following two passages, first from Donne in print, and then Russell's corresponding note of the same:

There are some sins so rooted, so riveted in men, so incorporated, so consubstantiated in the soule, by habituall custome, as that those sins have contracted the nature of Ancient possessions. As men call Manners by their names, so sins have taken names from men, and from places; *Simon Magus* gave the name to a sin, and so did *Gehazi*, and *Sodom* did so: There are sins that run in Names, in Families, in Blood; Hereditary sins, entailed sins; and men do almost prove their Gentry by those sins, and are scarce beleevd to be rightly borne, if they have not those sins; These are great possessions, and men do much more easily part with Christ, then with these sins.³⁵

but when he telse them one thing is wanting and so as to this young man false uppon his priuaet bousum sinn the sinn that hath consubstantiated it self into the soull the sinn thay poses or rather that which posseth them then thay goe away as heuy as this young man for in that sens thay haue great and large posessions

sume sinns ar Intayled hereditary sinns sinns by what a man proues his pedegre. for if a man be not taynted with sinn [one illegible word] off his fathers thay conclud hime a spurius and unligitimat issew. [Marginal note: "Concluding children from [vi]ses not uertues"].³⁶

Evidently, Russell's account here deviates from Donne's printed text in a number of ways, most importantly the fact that Russell's "young man" is replaced with general "men" in the later text. The singular would effectively address each "young man" in the congregation, and therefore could reflect a rhetorical strategy of direct appeal. Also, this young man "goe[s] away heuy," echoing the earlier note that "euery man hath sumthing to send hime heuy from christ." Given this repetition, it seems likely that this image of "heaviness" was repeatedly played upon throughout the sermon as preached, but that this device was abandoned in the written version.

For the kinds of textual divergences discussed so far, a number of potential causes could be advanced, not least Russell's mishearing, misunderstanding, failing memory, or his inevitable tendency towards reductive paraphrase. Commenting on sermon note-taking more generally, Arnold Hunt has asserted that "what we can occasionally glimpse, in surviving sermon notes, is a gap between the preacher's intentions and the hearer's response — and it is this gap that can help us

measure the effectiveness of the art of hearing.”³⁷ Possibly, Russell did not “hear” Donne as the preacher intended to be heard and understood. Yet if we allow for the possibility that Russell did, by and large, hear correctly, then we must draw attention to another kind of “gap,” that between the sermon as preached and the sermon as written. And, without losing sight of the possibility that Russell at times simply misrepresented Donne, discussion of his other hearing notes can allow for the valuable negotiation of “gaps” between two distinctive kinds of text: one the authorized, fully argued, and written sermon, and the other a sermon that was heard, remembered, and subsequently cast into notes, which retained some crucial markers of orality.

Russell’s sermon notes are not, despite their similar physical appearance in the manuscript, entirely of a kind. Instead, they preserve subtly different modes of reading and note-taking, and for each set of notes, their relationship to the source must be individually evaluated. Furthermore, it is crucial to assess not only what Russell took from his source, but also what he may have added to it. Good further testing grounds for these issues are the notes in HMC 20, pp. 77-78, taken from Donne’s sermon preached at Lincoln’s Inn on 22 May 1623, at the consecration of its new chapel. This occasion is one of the best documented for a sermon by Donne: two detailed manuscript narratives in Latin of the entire consecration service by George Montaigne, Bishop of London, of which Donne’s sermon formed a part, survive. The service was also briefly mentioned by John Chamberlain, who though he did not attend, reported in a letter to Dudley Carleton that “the Deane of Paules made an excellent sermon (they say) concerning dedications.”³⁸ Yet another manuscript, Society of Antiquaries of London, MS 201, no. 37, is an eye-witness account of the entire service in English that uniquely includes a summary of Donne’s sermon (the other reports only record Donne’s appearance).³⁹ Francis Russell’s interest in the sermon can be explained by a fact omitted from his *ODNB* biography, namely that on 22 February 1608 he had been admitted to Lincoln’s Inn, and on 23 October 1611 was elected as an Associate Bencher. On 5 November 1612, the Inn’s *Black Books* recorded their debt to Russell for a £10 loan for building works, and this loan appeared in the records again on 11 February 1613, at which time portions of outstanding loans from others (though not Russell’s) were bequeathed to the Inn “towards the buildinge of the new Chapell.”⁴⁰ His name does not appear again in the records of the Inn, but given Russell’s association it is at least probable that in May 1623 he was one among the

“Concourse and Confluence of people” that jostled for space to witness the consecration and to hear Donne preach.⁴¹ Even if Russell had not himself been present, he would not have had long to wait to read Donne’s sermon, for it was printed in the same year as *Encaenia. The Feast of Dedication. Celebrated at Lincolnes Inne, in a Sermon there vpon Ascension day, 1623*.

One feature sets Russell’s Lincoln’s Inn sermon notes apart from the rest, and that is the presence of scriptural references. The majority of these correspond to the marginal apparatus provided by the printed text, but Russell at times gave more precise Biblical citations, adding verse to book and chapter — “Leuiti. 23.32” for “Leuit 23.,” “Exodus 31.16” for “Exod. 31.”⁴² In one instance he provided a reference that is lacking from the printed book, “Nehemia: 9.” Russell was not in the habit of scholarly annotation or source hunting, so we can reasonably assume that whatever he wrote down, he found in his source (spoken or written). This means that the 1623 printed book was not his most likely exposure to the sermon’s text, and at any rate, Russell may have been present in person, and this is indeed supported by the otherwise very loose relationship between the printed text and his notes. Consider, from the latter, the following: “god infused not a morality upon the day of the saboth but uppon the duty of the saboth for then it could not haue bien changed and wher it is caled pactum perpetuum Exodus 31.16 sayth Austin it wase not euer lasting for the duration but in the duration for then it could not be intermitted god wase as it were insellibatiue when he sayd faciamus but after he wase espoused to the church 2 cantekils 15 then he sayth capite uos take ye he delicats his churches.”⁴³ This note conflates Donne’s long discourse on holy days and the Sabbath — a discussion occasioned by “the times of our meeting there,” the feast of Ascension Day — which unfolds over five of the printed quarto’s pages.⁴⁴ There are also a number of divergences between the note, and the text as printed. For the quotation from Exodus, the printed text follows the Vulgate reading of “*Pactum sempiternum*,” but Russell rendered this “pactum perpetuum.” If we assume that this is indeed what he heard, then this may reflect Donne’s backformation from the Authorized Version’s “a perpetual pact,” a quotation only corrected when the sermon was prepared for print. Russell’s notes further contain the coinage “insellibative” (not attested elsewhere, and English “celibate” was also rare, cf. *OED*, s.v., “celibate,” *n. 1*). Donne here reads “*In Cœlibatu*,” a word perhaps misheard or misunderstood by the notetaker. Russell’s implied parallelism between “faciamus ... capite uos” is

intelligible only with recourse to the printed text's fuller quotation of Song of Solomon 2.15, "*Capite nobis vulpes*, do *you* take the little Foxes, *you* the *Church*," which Donne contrasted to "*Faciamus*, let *vs*, *vs* the *Trinity* make man." Russell's "delicats," finally, is either a scribal error or once more resulted from mishearing Donne's reference to the way in which God and Christ "delegate" man in the collaborative maintenance of the church.

Immediately following this passage, Donne turned to an apt legal exemplum: "The Tables of the law *God* himselfe writ, and gaue them written to *Moses*: he left none of that to him; not a power to make other Lawes like those lawes: but for the *Tabernacle*, which concern'd the *outward* worship of *God*, that was to be made by *Moses*, *Iuxta similitudinem*, according to the paterne which *God* had shewed him."⁴⁵ Russell responded as follows: "when moses reseeded the law of god then he had noe facsimile he could not make commaundements liek unto it but when he came to the outward work of the Tabernakell then he had a Iuxta semilitudine toe doe it according to the pattern he had seen. so for essentiall things we cann nether add nor deminish but for externall seruice we may doe things according to the patron."⁴⁶ What is striking about this, besides the lexical variance ("facsimile" is not otherwise commonly used by Donne) is the paraphrase commencing "so ...," and perhaps this reflects Russell's own rephrasing, and can therefore be read as evidence of his own "hearing" or application of the sermon and its message of "essentiall" and "externall" law-giving. Alternatively, and possibly indicated by the etymological play on "pattern" and "patron" (cf. *OED*, s.v., "patron," *n.*; however, this may be accidental on account of Russell's orthography), the paraphrase reflects Donne's oral strategy to drive home the application.

That Russell was of course but one man among a larger congregation that listened collaboratively to their preacher is a fact that emerges from another set of notes, in HMC 19, pp. 101-2, 114. These relate to a court sermon on 1 Tim. 3.16 that Donne preached "before the King, At Whitehall, February 16. 1620. [1621]," the earliest Donne sermon from which Russell took notes.⁴⁷ The sermon is in two parts and discusses, first, the "*Mystery of godliness*," and second, "the manifestation of the Mystery" in Christ.⁴⁸ Potter and Simpson commented that "Donne had evidently taken great pains with this sermon, and it is written throughout in a style full of paradox and antithesis."⁴⁹ This lushness of style might in part account for the sermon's evident popularity in

manuscript: four witnesses are extant and so the sermon was in relatively wide circulation (see above). However, nothing indicates that Russell had direct access to such a manuscript: on the contrary, it is certain that he attended the sermon's delivery in person, and took notes not long after the event. The notes are divided between two places in his notebook, with the two entries linked by cross-references: "uide postea" and "uide antea".⁵⁰ The fact that unrelated materials intersperse the sermon notes indicates that there was a time lapse between commencement and completion. This, in turn, makes it likely that Russell penned his notes from memory (or just possibly, from another intermediary source such as loose leaves or writing tablets), shortly after the sermon's delivery, and not in one continuous sitting, as would more obviously occur if he had taken notes *in situ* during the sermon.

Russell's diction provides further evidence that these are hearing notes. He wrote, for example, that "Dunn spake of the father and the sunn be of one sied what nede we fere what the diuell doth."⁵¹ This is emphatically a record of spoken discourse, and moreover one that causes an immediate problem, because nowhere in the sermon as it survives in full does Donne "speak" of such a thing. In the second part, Donne discourses extensively on Christ as "he was seen of Angels." It is in this passage only that the devil makes a short appearance: "when he [Christ] was tempted by the Devil, Angels came and ministred to him."⁵² Nowhere, however, does Donne remark how God and Christ sprung of one seed.

Consider also the following passage from Donne's text, found in its second part, on angels. Following his scriptural meditation on how Christ was "*visus ab Angelis*" [seen by angels], Donne moved to his application, that "Christ is seen by the Angels, in us and our conversation now."⁵³ This "now" arrestingly brought his congregation to the speaking present (and indeed their futures), where, so Donne wrote, "the Angels do see mens particular actions: and then, if thou would'st not sollicite a womans chastity, if her servant were by to testifie it; nor caluminate an absent person in the Kings ear, if his friends were by to testifie it; if thou canst slumber in thy self, that main consideration, That the eye of god is always open, and always upon thee; yet have a little religious civility, and holy respect, euen to those Angels that see thee."⁵⁴ Russell heard Donne speak those words (or whichever form they took in delivery), and took the following note: "If a man will not commit ane offense of wenery

afoer his man though god sese it why much moer when the angelse louks one: lo: Shefeild mislieked this proportion.”⁵⁵ Clearly, Russell condenses to only one Donne’s multiplication of examples of things seen by angels; his note, furthermore, disagrees with Donne’s written text in matters of small detail (e.g. “her servant,” “his man”), and paraphrases strongly, as when to “solicite a womans chastity” becomes “ane offense of wenery [venery].” But most importantly, Russell recorded that “lo: Shefeild” misliked Donne’s “proportion” (that is, his expression, signification, or idea). “Shefeild” was perhaps Edmund Sheffield, later first earl of Mulgrave (1565–1646).⁵⁶ He was Russell’s senior by about twenty years, but the two men were of like mind: they would steer a similar political course in the troublesome 1630s, and keep similar parliamentary allies. A salient detail from Sheffield’s life is that in 1619, a year before the sermon, at the age of sixty-four he married the sixteen-year old Mariana Irwin. One contemporary commentator, Anne Clifford (herself a Russell relation and admirer of Donne), condemned the match in no uncertain terms: the marriage “was held a very mean match & indiscreet part of him.”⁵⁷ While Russell’s note does not exactly reveal why Sheffield misliked Donne’s advice to his congregation, it seems that the warning not to solicit “a womans chastity” afforded a moment of private amusement between Russell and Sheffield, as they shared a gentleman’s joke, perhaps over the memory of what some conceived was Sheffield’s indiscreet marriage (which was in fact motivated by a constant and pressing desire for money). So in these notes in HMC 19 we also have evidence of what was naturally very common, but which is not always reflected in contemporary diaries or sermon notes: collaborative hearing. Sheffield and Russell were seated or stood side-by-side at court while Donne preached, and discussed Donne’s choices of *exempla* either during or shortly after delivery.

In addition to the hearing notes from the three sermons discussed so far, three others survive: HMC 20, pp.42-43, HMC 21, pp. 179-80, and HMC 26, fols. 87r-88r. All are court sermons at Whitehall, preached in February 1623, February 1626, and March 1622 respectively. The first derives from a section in the manuscript that is more fully devoted to court Lent sermons. Its note-taking strategies follow the patterns already discussed, and its most distinguishing feature, a cross-reference from one Donne sermon to another, will be discussed below. The notes from HMC 21 relate to a

sermon that was also printed in 1626. Russell's notes here are extremely concise (about one hundred and twenty words), suggesting recollection and transcription sometime after the event.

The set in HMC 26, fols. 87r-88r, relates to a sermon preached at court but in the absence of the king.⁵⁸ It found a readership beyond Donne's immediate congregation, in the form of two manuscripts. Once more, however, there is no reason to assume that Russell saw such a manuscript, as his notes are typically terse and loosely paraphrase the full sermon text, rather than quoting from it verbatim. They do, though, occasionally hint at Donne's plainer language in delivery. His text was 1 Cor. 15.26, "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (as transcribed by Russell). As Donne stated in his *divisio*, the body of the sermon is "but a larger paraphrase vpon the words".⁵⁹ This attention to the "words" of the scriptural text led Donne to discuss the metaphorical resonances of the word "enemy:" "the holy=ghost [...] chooseth the metaphore of an Enemie, and enmitie, to auert vs from looking for true peace, from anie thing that presents it self in the waye. Neither trulie could the holy=ghost imprint more horror, by any word then that which intimates warre, as the word enemie doth."⁶⁰ These words provide the crucial context for what follows, Donne's elucidation of the "horror of War" by discussion of its companions, "*famine*" and "*pestilence*." It is only at this point that Russell's note picks up the argument: "In the famien thay eat ther childeren of a span longe sayth the propeth Esa, that is one sayth thay gaue them selues phisiek to cast out the embrios so to haue wher one toe fede."⁶¹ Russell's "to cast out the embrios" puts in more startlingly physiological terms what Donne eventually wrote, namely that the mothers "take medicines to procure abortions, to cast their children."⁶² Russell's more gruesome note is perhaps indicative of Donne's more direct approach in delivery. What Russell did not record, however, is the guiding interpretative context for this quotation. Donne's striking image carries first and foremost a metaphorical meaning, as the descriptions of the horrors of war moderate a question Donne asked earlier, namely "howe trulie a warrefare is this life, if the kingdome of heauen it selfe haue not this peace in perfection?"⁶³ Russell chooses to copy only a single example that by Donne was presented in service of an overarching idea. This may suggest that Russell could perhaps rely on his memory to fill in the gaps; conversely, however, if he was in commonplacing mode then Russell may simply not have been concerned with the rhetorical patterning and larger aims of the sermon.

Russell's notes from the four remaining Donne sermons arose from his reading of printed sermons (or, in the case of HMC 18, his secretary's reading). A different process of note-taking can be assumed for these reading records, since Russell had more time to reflect on his material, and could freely move back and forth in the text. These are of interest for what they reveal about Russell's further response to Donne, but they are fundamentally different from the hearing notes in that they preserve fewer clues about Donne's pulpit rhetoric.

Russell's notes in HMC 21, pp. 62-65 reversed, are the longest he took from Donne, and close textual correspondence shows that he worked from the 1625 printed quarto, *The First Sermon Preached to King Charles*.⁶⁴ These notes immediately demonstrate that he did, in fact, freely move around the printed text, especially at the end of his set of notes, where after a first round of extracted quotations, he returned to earlier parts of the sermon for further materials. Russell also strikingly retitled the text as "Do: Dunns sermund uppon the deth of K Ieamse.," thereby foregrounding the memory of his recently deceased monarch, at the expense of the sermon's prime intended hearer, King Charles I.⁶⁵ This privileging of James is further marked by Russell's small addition to Donne. Russell had elsewhere in his notes found opportunity to exercise his local knowledge. For instance, in the "Directions to Preachers" sermon, where when Donne remarked how "*Queene ELIZABETH* was the great granchild of a *Lord Maior of London*", Russell identified that mayor as "Bullen."⁶⁶ In similar vein, Russell added further detail to the first sermon preached to Charles. There, Donne spoke of the way in which the "*Lambe of God* [...] hath taken away the *sinnes* of the world, and but changed the *Sunnes* of the world, who hath complicated two wondrous workes in one, To make *Our Sunne* to set at Noone, and to make *our Sunne* to rise at Noone too."⁶⁷ This paradoxical representation of the royal succession was addressed by Russell with the note "K Ieamse diing about ii acloke."⁶⁸ And, if the death of James must undoubtedly have shocked Russell's world, his reading the sermon also occasioned a note of wry humor, in the shape of a somewhat feeble pun. Following his note of Donne's discussion of the statutory requisite of acreage (land) belonging a cottage, Russell quipped that "though noe massacre yet moer mass Akers than here toe foer."⁶⁹

Even when copying from a printed sermon, Russell still completely disregarded its structural conceits. In the sermon to Charles, Donne structured his argument around the governing conceit of

“foundations,” following his text from Psalms 11.3. There is, however, virtually no trace of Russell’s appreciation (or other) of this imagistic framework of “foundations.” Instead, Russell mined the sermon text for *sententiae* (very frequently anti-Catholic gibes), following the tried and tested conventions of the early modern common-placer. There is also another instance of a marginal comment, relating to Donne’s “Suruay of the second *House*, the *State*, the *Kingdome*, the *Common-wealth*, and of this *House*, the *foundation* is the *Law*.”⁷⁰ Donne quoted Justinian’s *Digest*, and offered the following application: “*Lex Communis Reipub. sponsio*, sayes the *Law* it selfe: *The Law* is the mutuall, the reciprocall Suretie between the *State* and the *Subiect*. The *Lawe* is my *Suretie* to the *State*, that I shall pay my Obedience, and the *Lawe* is the States *Suretie* to mee, that I shall enioy my Protection.”⁷¹ Russell copied this out, but added that “A stat Adultery the brech of Laus by a king.”⁷² David Colclough has commented that Russell probably confused “sponsio,” meaning a compact or wager, with “sponsalia” or betrothal: a “state adultery” therefore signifies a king’s legal breach of that union.⁷³ This reflection, even if resulting from misreading, shows Russell’s formative thinking on the respective responsibilities of state and subject.

Russell also responded to the one sermon which has received most critical attention to date, not only from recent scholars but also from his (and Donne’s) contemporaries, that preached at Paul’s Cross on 15 September 1622, in defense of the King James’s controversial *Directions for Preachers*. As Mary Morrissey has shown, “the *Directions* appeared to many to be an attempt to muzzle the pulpits from discussing James’s unpopular decision to negotiate a ‘Spanish match’ for Prince Charles. Even more alarming to many in England, these negotiations went on at a time when James appeared to be doing little to recover the patrimony of his daughter’s children in the Palatinate. Appearing only two days after the formal suspension of the laws against recusants, the *Directions to Preachers* were seen by those already alarmed by James’s foreign policy as the first sign of a plot by the Spanish to manipulate James into fatally weakening the Reformation in England.”⁷⁴ These circumstances turned Donne’s defense into a formidable task, issued as it was from one of the nation’s foremost pulpits. In fact, the sermon was sufficiently ambiguous as to divide critical opinion among Donne scholars: on the one hand, that Donne sycophantically supported royal absolutism and therefore showed himself to be both a careerist and an opportunist, and on the other, that Donne cast himself as “a preacher whose

politics did not stifle his conscience, but who found, even within the narrowing limits decreed by the *Directions*, the possibilities of discreet and religious counsel.”⁷⁵ Certainly, some contemporary hearers struggled to understand Donne, most famously John Chamberlain, who reported that he found Donne’s choice of Bible text “somewhat straunge for such a business.” Chamberlain was nonplussed, too, about its structure and rhetorical efficacy, for “how he made yt hold together I know not, but he gave no great satisfaction.”⁷⁶ Simonds D’Ewes attended in person and stood close to the pulpit, and “ther wrote as much as I desired.” Then, “the most parte of the afternoone and a prettye [while] after supper I spent in noting it out” — that is to say, he expanded into fuller prose his succinct hearing notes.⁷⁷ D’Ewes could have spared his transcription labors if he had known that the sermon was soon to be printed by royal command, and that it would prove popular enough to warrant two reissues.

It was by way of one of these three printed issues that Francis Russell gained access to this important text on pulpit management and foreign policy. Russell’s notes follow the wording of the printed book very closely, and in one of the instances where he did deviate, he pithily rendered down the entire sermon to the simple notion that the “K [“king”] not hinder preching but reduse it to the primitiue tiemes” (“hinder” is not Donne’s term in this context; the primitive times were when, so stated Donne, “*God* gave so euident, and so remarkable blessings to mens Preaching”).⁷⁸ Russell’s notes further broadly cover the sermon’s major concerns, from Donne’s discussion of foreign intervention (in the face of examples like “Iosuas ruien in ingaging hime self in the unnesessary warse of other prinsees”), and the monarch’s responsibilities (“Ks accions walks not always in the sight of men and so thay lack ther thanks but canot goe out of the sight of god and soe not lowse ther reward”), as well as those men of Russell’s own class, “great offisers,” who “ar liek the Intelligenses that mowes [moves] great sphers but ar not to be mowed [moved] out of them.”⁷⁹ Russell was also not adverse to hammering home the obvious, for instance where Donne drew an analogy between the heavenly battle against Sisera and “that deliuerance, which God gaue vs at *Sea*,” recorded by Russell as: “The starse fought which as Iosephus sayth wase the storms blowing in enimies faces in [15]88.”⁸⁰

It is not yet clear where Francis Russell himself stood with regards to the contemporary debates treated in Donne’s sermon. Conrad Russell has suggested that he kept a relatively low profile during the early 1620s, and that “there is no evidence in the parliamentary record of the 1620s to

indicate Bedford's attitude on questions of religion.”⁸¹ Further study of the notebooks may be more illuminating. But from his extracts of Donne’s sermon alone, it is not in principle clear whether Russell was always in agreement with Donne. For example, Russell copied that “men begins to be shaken in ther religion at home since god neglects it abroad.”⁸² This note lacks Donne’s crucial distinction that these men wrongfully “think” that God neglects his foreign flocks. Donne advanced this idea only to refute it, since God “by a little ... will do much,” and so the wrongfully thinking men should never “suspect Gods power, or Gods purpose.”⁸³ When Russell explicitly quibbled with Donne and so betrayed a personal response, as he did on two occasions, his disagreements were not always over the major political and ecclesiastical debates. The first of these was likely in jest. Donne quoted St Augustine on the hereditary possession of Israel by the Jews, and God’s ultimate restoration of the lands to them who “scarce know their own title.”⁸⁴ Russell copied the section closely, namely that “St Austin maks a useful Historical note that land to which god brought the childeren of Isarel toe wase ther land befoer linial desended from hime whoe wase possessor of it befoer the flud,” but then added a gloss: “I thenk all rights were drowned of meum et tuum at the flud.”⁸⁵ Russell’s ungenerous comment was likely a legal joke (much like the gentleman’s joke discussed above), drawn from one of the fundamental principles of property rights (“meum et teum,” or “what’s mine is mine, what’s yours is yours”), to somewhat feebly counter Donne’s exemplum which could hardly be contested, namely that God does “Much with few, much though late.”⁸⁶

Russell’s second response occurs at the sermon’s conclusion, where Donne asserted that “Preachers ... are not ignorant, vnlearned, extemporal men.” This statement followed immediately upon Donne’s reading of preachers as his text’s “stars,” this time typifying them as “you, you whom *God* hath made *Starres* in this *Firmament*, *Preachers* in this *Church*.”⁸⁷ Russell extracted that “The star by which we make our wayes is nether of the gretest nor least magnitud.” This follows Donne to the letter, but Russell then added, firstly, that “planets [are] not stars” (a point not contesting Donne), but also, by way of another interlinear gloss, that “all stars aboue [“are”?] the lik magnitud.”⁸⁸ Donne is unequivocal on this point, namely that “as you know from St. *Paul*, that *Stars* differ from *Stars* in *glory*, but all conduce to the benefit of man.”⁸⁹ Russell’s annotation is characteristically terse, but it

may be suggested that he took issue here with Donne's fundamental observation of greater and lesser preachers.⁹⁰

In November 1622, Donne accepted the invitation to preach to a meeting of the Virginia Company, held at the Merchant-Taylors Hall in London. The Company promptly requested Donne to print the sermon, and Donne agreed, wittily addressing them in his epistle with the words "*now I am an Adventurer; if not to Virginia, yet for Virginia; for, every man, that Prints, Adventures.*"⁹¹ It appears that Russell took at least an intellectual interest in colonialist endeavors in the New World, as he owned and read a manuscript treatise dealing directly with this topic, "A Discourse vpon our Foraigne Plantations discovering the defects and failings of them with their Remedies, and the grounds of Erecting a West India Companye," and vigorously annotated another such text, dealing with the governing of plantations, "An extract [of chapters six and seven] of the antiquity of the Batavers Comon wealth which is now the Hollanders [...] translated for the right honorable Sir Edward Cecijll knight etc."⁹² Russell's extracts from Donne's printed sermon are rather compressed, under 300 words, and are wedged in between an another set of sermon notes, "Hall at court," and reading notes from the Scottish John Weemes's theological treatise, *The Christian Synagogue* (printed five times between 1623 and 1637). Despite their brevity, the notes do, however, range across the entirety of the printed sermon, from Donne's opening gambit on the book of Acts (in Russell's words, "Reckned in this Bouk 22 sermunds of the Apostels yet not 1 caled the preching, but Acts of Apostles"), to Donne's concluding remarks on the art of oratory.⁹³ Typical of Russell's notetaking is his eye for bite-sized witticisms (e.g., "God taught us in ships not to transport ourselues as ["but"] him)," and for anti-Catholic gibes, for instance that "The Bish of Rome hath nothing moir rightfull Apostolicall but his thinking of a temporall kd." ["kd." is Russell's common abbreviation for "kingdom"].⁹⁴ The latter note is followed by Russell's own interlinear addition, that the "pop [is] in noe thing liker peter then deniing his master," and the notes are concluded by yet another of Russell's anti-Catholic sentiments, signed "FR" to mark this as his own invention: "You ar for the Roman and we for the text hard ["heard"]."⁹⁵ "Roman" here may refer to Roman Catholic Latin, but, in context, it seems more likely that it refers to "Roman" oratory — the "lofty, elevated, stately" discourse of preaching (cf. *OED*, s.v., "Roman," *n.*1 and *adj.*1, 5b), as opposed to the plain style favored by English Protestants.

Russell's attention to Donne on the art of oratory in support of persuading princes is especially resonant in light of Russell's own political career, when his own art of persuasion would be deployed to the full in the House of Lords. The panegyrists of Roman emperors would, as Donne says, "procure things to bee done, by saying they were done."⁹⁶ As Russell phrases this, "In art of oratoers in showing what princes should doe in telling them I haif had claim it which incresed loue in the subiect and conuayd counsell unto the k."⁹⁷ Donne speaks of "*Emperours*" and rulers in the abstract, but Russell speak of "the k.," that is, the king. The latter note, finally, is also complemented by another of Donne's disparaging remarks on "city preaching" copied by Russell, suggesting his interest in public speaking and pulpit rhetoric: "prechers that biends themselues to great auditories becum occasionall prechers maks the immergent afayrs of the tiem ther text and the humers of the herers ther bibell" (taken nearly verbatim from Donne).⁹⁸ As Donne continued, such preachers "may loose their Naturall Notes, both the *simplicitie*, and the *boldnesse* that belongs to the Preaching of the *Gospell*."⁹⁹ This was a sentiment certainly shared by Russell, who so clearly preferred "the text hard."

Russell read Donne critically and comparatively. Two-thirds into his Virginia Company text, Donne briefly meditated on the legal punishment of "*intestabilitie*," or "not to bee admitted to be a witenesse of any other."¹⁰⁰ He applied this inability to witness to any good man's potential to be "a *Christian* in life," not just in profession. Donne then turned to the example of John the Baptist in the wilderness, sent as a "*Witness of Christ*," and urged the Virginia planters to "preach to one another by a holy and exemplar life," as witnesses to Christ, and so uphold their Christian morality "*vnto the vttermost parts of the Earth*."¹⁰¹ Russell responded to this in summary. However, to this note he also added an interlinear gloss, namely that "And yet christ is led into wilderness to be tempted uide postea dunns sermund."¹⁰² This reference points towards another Donne sermon, preached at court, which Russell extracted some thirty pages later in the same notebook.¹⁰³ What connects these two sermons is the image of the wilderness. In the latter court sermon, Donne stated that "*Christ* was allwaies safe, hee was ledd of the Spirrit; of what Spirrit, his owne spirit, led willingly in the wildernes, to bee tempted of the Divell Noe other man may Doe that."¹⁰⁴ Russell heard rather than read this court sermon, and took the following note: "Christ is sayd to be led into the wildernes to be tempted which shous noe man must uolentary expose himself to temptation yet he sends Iohn into the wildernes uide

antea dunns sermund.”¹⁰⁵ In the Virginia Company sermon (the “anterior” text), John the Baptist’s “wilderness” was a welcoming place: as Donne described, “there were few witnesses to oppose *Iohns* Testimony, few tentations, few worldly allurements, few worldly businesses. One was enough for the *Wildernesse*. [...] but to *Ierusalem*, *Christ* send all his *Apostles*, and all little inough.”¹⁰⁶ The “wilderness” inhabited by Christ, conversely, was a place of great temptation. Russell’s cross-references between these two sermons demonstrate that he engaged with Donne’s *exempla* across different texts (and across sermons, moreover, that were preached to very different audiences). Russell could have bought and read the Virginia Company sermon at any point after November or December 1622, and the court sermon was preached on 28 February 1623. It is most likely, then, that Russell took his notes from the earlier text, and after hearing Donne preach at court, he returned to his earlier notes for further annotation. Perhaps Russell’s insistence on the wilderness as a place of temptation betrays something of his own beliefs about the uncertain fates of the Virginia planters (and so takes mild issue with Donne), or alternatively, his cross-referenced annotations are indicative of a more literary interest in the deployment of Biblical imagery by preachers.

All the sermon notes considered so far were written by Francis Russell himself, but the single exception (and the final set of notes to be discussed) occurs in HMC 18, a set of notes written by his secretary. This secretarial assistance is an otherwise common feature in the Woburn manuscripts: many so-called “collections” were produced for Russell, which were doubtlessly commissioned to enable his faster consumption of the text in question. The subject of professional readers, or household scholars, has garnered considerable interest from book historians. Their purpose was often to read actively and politically, and to produce for their employers a reading that was goal- and action-orientated.¹⁰⁷ Although more research is necessary in relation to Francis Russell and his secretary, it appears likely that the latter performed such readings for Russell. At the very least, on the basis of the widespread evidence of this secretarial hand across the Woburn corpus, this individual (who remains to be identified) not only wrote the “collections,” but was also responsible for accommodating accessibility to most of Russell’s notebooks, by providing in-depth indices on the volumes’ flyleaves. He was also predominantly responsible for another scribal project, the maintenance of Russell’s gigantic compilation of commonplaces (HMC 11).

The notes in HMC 18 relate to Donne's sermon for Magdalene Herbert (the mother of the poet and clergyman George Herbert), preached on 1 July 1627 and printed in the same year. The process at work in HMC 18 diversifies the ways in which Russell gathered texts by Donne, and, more importantly, the ways by which he organized them for use. In essence, the notes in HMC 18 were a collaborative effort, because after Russell received his secretary's eight-page "collection," he himself numbered all paragraphs and underlined salient words and passages. From each numbered paragraph, moreover, Russell then extracted a single key-word, written onto the blank versos: for example, from the first two pages, "souls," "saluation," "Iests," "sorrow," "Iests," "Iesting," "sewring" (that is, swearing, in relation to oaths and blasphemies), "protestants," "day of Iudgment," and "displese se[e] distast."¹⁰⁸ These keywords (an otherwise common feature across the corpus) direct the reader from the individual notebooks to an entirely different type of manuscript: HMC 11, the above-mentioned commonplace book. This collection appears to have been conceived as a single volume, but soon expanded to four (and at least another fifth volume can be inferred, but this may have disappeared). For an example of the movement of Russell's reading notes within this wider textual ecosystem of his manuscripts, we can follow a trail that commences in HMC 18 with the Magdalene Herbert, Lady Danvers sermon. Russell's secretary extracted from Donne's printed sermon that "All tribulations to the Godly fall vnder the definition of sacraments, are visable signes of invisable grace."¹⁰⁹ Russell boiled this down to a single keyword: "affliction." This heading was already present in the first volume of HMC 11, p. 77, but by the time Donne's sermon was extracted, far more material had been gathered than could be accommodated on this single page. As a result, a system of internal cross-references (e.g., "see more of this 1794") sends the reader on a chase across the four volumes: from p. 77, to 1794, 2088, and 1575, where entries on "afflictions" are filed under the related notions of "Trouble, see Crosses et Vnquietness." From there we move to 1175 (under "Persecution"), 1573, 1578 (under "Tribulation"), 482 (under "Crosses"), 531, 627, and 1028, 2826, 2982, 3027, 3091, 3238, 3467, 3543, 3810, and 3824 (all under "Crosses et Trobles" and "afflictions"), at which point the cross-references cease. In the process of navigating these hundreds of entries on "afflictions," only some of which were attributed, and some of which were cross-referenced back to the notebook from which they came (e.g., "L[iber]. A.," "L[iber] D.," see below), the works of Donne are frequently

encountered (other notable entries include poetic extracts from George Withers, Francis Quarles, and George Herbert). Donne's extract from HMC 18 is included here, but also, "Some man Antidats misery by professing of ruyne they contribute to misery that ouer feare it before it came / Dr Dunns:/"', which derives from the reading notes in HMC 21 of Donne's first sermon to King Charles.¹¹⁰ That set of notes is not furnished with the marginal keywords, but this material was nevertheless transferred to the commonplace book. Other extracts are attributed to Donne: "Afflictions are but chaffings of the wax that wee may be sealed vnto thee. Dunn," and "Affliction is a treasure that noe man hath enough of it, for by it man is made fitt for god. Dunn."¹¹¹ These both derive from the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, extracted more fully in HMC 20 (see above). Another extract copied is that originally noted in HMC 22, p. 43, on the crosses of this world and the temptation of other churches, and finally one that has not yet been traced to its source: "Persecution filled Egipt soe full of Hermites that hee said it was nothing ells but a cittie of Hermites [...]. Dr Dunn./."¹¹²

Even from this most cursory inspection of HMC 11 it is clear that Donne's sermon texts and other works extensively feature in the commonplace book, the research potential of which remains very considerable, not least as an indicator of how Russell systematically organized his reading over many years. To adapt a term employed by William Sherman, the commonplace book functioned not only as a repository but also as an early-modern "search engine."¹¹³ For instance, under the heading "Navigation" appear not only quotations on this topic but also further directions, for instance "vide the large paper booke with yellow Cover and leaues written by Sr Arthur Gorge: folio 93: the booke marked with the greater Letter A."¹¹⁴ That manuscript is still extant, now HMC 23, and it indeed features several tracts by Gorges, and is marked upon the fore-edge with a thickly inked "A." HMC 23, incidentally, is yet another manuscript filled with sermon notes, from such luminaries as Joseph Hall preaching at court in 1629, and from many other preachers who have today been largely forgotten.

4. Conclusion

The notebooks of Francis Russell constitute by far the largest body of evidence discovered to date of hearing Donne preach. Given the primary nature especially of the hearing notes, Russell's manuscripts can therefore assist students of Donne. But as seen above there are also limits to their usefulness, not least since the notes are (inevitably) reductive of Donne's finely crafted prose. The longest set of notes from a Donne sermon (HMC 18) represents only around ten percent of Donne's text as printed, while the shortest (e.g., HMC 19) covers less than four percent. If these notes do not provide text sufficient for an editor's copy, they do provide vital evidence of the possible gaps between sermons as delivered and as printed. And there is no doubt that even such succinct records were of value to Russell. A marginal scribble in HMC 21 constitutes Russell's instructions to himself, namely that "Thes sermunds to be often redd but espetially when I am siek."¹¹⁵ Another instruction to this effect was written into the margin of sermon notes from a "Docter Smith" in the same volume ("For Siekness"), or the notes from "Sir John Benets medetations upon the spalm of mersies."¹¹⁶ Other notes were conceived for the more practical purpose of textual recycling, such as "Sidonius Apollinaris epistelse," designed as a storehouse for Russell's own "letters or spech."¹¹⁷ There is also some evidence that Russell revisited other notes from Donne, for instance in HMC 26. In the sermon here extracted (preached at Whitehall on 8 March 1622), Donne asserted that "there is a trade driuen, a staple established beetweene heauen and earth: *Ibi caro nostra, hic spiritus eius*. Thither haue wee sent our flesh, and hither hath hee sent his spirit."¹¹⁸ Russell was evidently taken with this image, as he copied "Ther is a stapel established betwixt heuen and erth we haue sent our flesh unto heuen, and god hath sent his sperit into the erth." Russell then returned to this note at a later visit, and added to Donne's mercantile metaphor: "our Terse and prayers ar Bilse of exchange sent unto heuen."¹¹⁹ It appears then that he primarily derived spiritual solace from his notes, as well as the occasional joke or pun, and the many *sententiae* for potential reuse. The process of note-taking was, then, not simply an intellectual exercise, but also an expression of practical, personal piety.

Russell's notes can also offer important contextual evidence for preaching rotas at court (and elsewhere). The notes in HMC 20, for instance, were chronologically accrued, and the first dated items after the extracts taken from Donne's *Devotions* are a series of Lent sermons at court in 1624.¹²⁰ Publication of the *Devotions* can be precisely dated: it was entered into the Stationers' Register on 9

January 1624, and by 1 February the work was in print.¹²¹ Russell acquired it hot off the press, since his notes from the *Devotions* precede the Lent series that commenced on Ash Wednesday on 11 February with a sermon by Lancelot Andrewes, which Russell attended and extracted in much the same fashion as his notes from Donne. The remainder of named preachers dovetails exactly with the courtly Lent sermon rota preserved in the muniment books of Westminster Abbey, which lists, in order of appearance, **Lancelot Andrewes**, John Donne, Richard Wright, **Matthew Wren**, **Richard Senhouse**, **Arthur Lake**, **Richard Corbett**, **Walter Balcanquall**, **John Hanmer**, **William Juxon**, **George Warburton**, **William Laud**, John Young, **Thomas Winniffe**, Richard Neile, **Walter Curll (Curle)**, **John Bowle**, George Abbott, John Warner, William Laud, John Williams, George Montaigne, and Lancelot Andrewes.¹²² Russell heard and noted the sermons by the preachers listed in bold in the same order, demonstrating his attendance at most of the series from 11 February (Andrewes) to 7 March (Laud), and his final attendance of John Bowle on 19 March. Russell's notes not only confirm Peter McCullough's court sermon calendar, but add to it where Russell provides the preacher's text, as well as concise summaries, of sermons that have not otherwise survived (Wren, Senhouse, Lake, Corbett, Balcanquall, Hanmer, Juxon, Warburton, Curle, and Bowle).

Commenting generally on Francis Russell's reading habits as encountered in the large commonplace book (HMC 11), Conrad Russell concluded that "Bedford was a zealous reader of poetry with a particular affection for John Donne, George Herbert, and Francis Quarles. The combination of some of Donne's most predestinarian material, from sermons as well as divine poems, with Herbert on communion, again indicates the ecclesiastical sympathies of a Jacobean."¹²³ This may hold true for the extracts in HMC 11, but closer attention to the notebooks has demonstrated that, in fact, Russell gathered a great deal more from his hearing and reading of Donne's sermons than reflections on predestination. It is striking, for example, that Russell attended in person a number of sermons delivered between 1620 and 1622, which in terms of their subject matter culminated in the "Directions" sermon, which Russell read in print. Jeanne Shami has reviewed the reiteration of a series of political and ecclesiastical questions that recur throughout, which suggest "a political and religious sensibility attuned to current events, but filtered through the medium of Biblical exegesis and commentary."¹²⁴ Russell's notes show that he actively transcribed those sections of Donne's

sermons that treat the same questions characteristic of these years. By hearing, reading, and noting Donne, Russell left a distinct record of his desire to keep a finger on the pulse of contemporary debates on politics, religion, and the law, as filtered through the pulpit.

The full extent of the formation of Francis Russell's political convictions is a subject unto itself, and one in which Russell's reading records must figure much more broadly, focusing not only on Donne, but also on the raft of other preachers whose sermons he attended and read, and of course, the vast amounts of other types of discourses and texts. The nineteenth-century historian J.H. Wiffen described Francis Russell as one "peculiarly qualified, having received at one of the inns of the court the education of a lawyer, which had induced, upon a mind naturally strong, inductive, and sagacious, a habit of patient thought and close investigation." Long before even the Historical Manuscript Commission first catalogued the Woburn manuscripts, Wiffen had noted, too, the "voluminous observations entered into [Russell's] common-place books, which also shew, though written in a rapid hand unfortunately little legible, that there was scarce a parliamentary debate to which he listened, a book which he read, a sermon which he heard, or a subject to which he gave his steady thoughts, that was not systematically subjected by him to analysis, and in some shape or other made to furnish accessories to his wit or weapons for his wisdom."¹²⁵ If nothing else, this essay has sought to demonstrate that these manuscripts are a crucial early-modern resource, and not only in relation to John Donne. Russell's manuscript library as a whole spans nearly four decades of reading and intellectual development, and bears witness to the formative first decades of the seventeenth century. Russell owned, read, and often annotated, manuscripts containing nearly every kind of early-modern text, including works of heraldry, history, genealogy, travel, navigation, trade, law, philosophy, politics, antiquarianism, correspondence, mythology, theology, poetry, and drama. Those manuscripts, in tandem with Russell's role as an increasingly important agent in seventeenth-century life and politics, make clear the continued importance of his efforts.¹²⁶

¹ Gary A. Stringer, ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: Volume 2, The Elegies* (Bloomington, 2000), xlix–l.

² See, e.g., Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998); Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625* (Stanford, CA, 1998); Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge, 2003); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010); Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011); Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011).

³ Jeanne Shami, "Donne's 1622 Sermon in the Gunpowder Plot: His Original Presentation Manuscript Uncovered," *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 5 (1992): 63–86; Jeanne Shami, ed., *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1996); Jeanne Shami, "New Manuscripts Texts of Sermons by John Donne," *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700* 13 (2006): 77–119.

⁴ Cf. Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne Dean of Saint Paul's*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1973), 27–77; George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, eds., *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols. (Berkeley, 1953-1962); *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne* is currently in production: for the first volume now in print, see David Colclough, ed., *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne. Volume III: Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I* (Oxford, 2013).

⁵ For manuscript descriptions and full transcriptions, see <<http://www.cems-oxford.org/donne/>>.

⁶ Hunt, *Art of Hearing*; cf. John Craig, "Sermon Reception," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford, 2011), 178–97.

⁷ P. G. Stanwood, "John Donne's Sermon Notes," *Review of English Studies* 29, no. 115, New Series (1978): 315.

⁸ I. A. Shapiro, "[A Letter to the Editor]," *Review of English Studies* 30, no. 118 (May 1, 1979): 194.

⁹ Stanwood, "Sermon Notes," 315, 317.

¹⁰ The archive was summarily catalogued in 1874, when 300 shelf-marks were listed. [HMC], *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1871), 1–4. Further commonplace books by Russell have since also been added to the collection.

¹¹ For biographical records, see Conrad Russell, “Russell, Francis, Fourth Earl of Bedford (bap. 1587, D. 1641),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24307>; Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, eds., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629* (Cambridge, 2010), 114–15.

¹² Cited in Russell, “Russell, Francis.”

¹³ John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922-1954), 1/3:499; W. Paley Baildon, ed., *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln’s Inn: Admissions*. (London, 1896), 147.

¹⁴ On Donne and the Countess of Bedford, see P. Thomson, “John Donne and the Countess of Bedford,” *Modern Language Review* 44, no. 3 (1949): 329–340; R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford, 1970).

¹⁵ Clifford (1590-1676) was the daughter of George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland, and Margaret Russell, the youngest daughter of Francis Russell, the second earl of Bedford. She grew up among Russell relations, and in her diary refers to the fourth earl as “Coz Russel.” She also recorded that on the evening of 26 July 1617, “Dr Donne came hither” to Knole House in Kent (Donne was the incumbent rector at Sevenoaks). The next day, “the 27th being Sunday I went to Church forenoon & afternoon Dr Donne preaching & he & the other Strangers dining with me in the Great Chamber.” Katherine O. Acheson, ed., *The Diary of Anne Clifford, 1616-1619: A Critical Edition* (New York, 1995), 88–89.

¹⁶ Russell, “Russell, Francis.”

¹⁷ On Donne’s conformity, see, e.g., Debora K. Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, CA, 1990); Jeffrey Johnson, *The Theology of John Donne* (Woodbridge, 1999); Achsah Guibbory, “Donne’s Religion: Montagu, Arminianism and Donne’s Sermons, 1624–1630,” *English Literary Renaissance* 31, no. 3 (2001):

412–439; Daniel W. Doerksen, “Polemist or Pastor? Donne and Moderate Calvinist Conformity,” in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. Mary A. Papazian (Detroit, 2003); Shami, *Donne and Conformity*; Peter McCullough, “Donne as Preacher at Court: Precarious ‘Inthronization,’” in *John Donne’s Professional Lives*, ed. David Colclough (Cambridge, 2003), 179–204; Emma Rhatigan, “Knees and Elephants: Donne Preaches on Ceremonial Conformity,” *John Donne Journal* 23 (2004): 185–213.

¹⁸ Peter Beal, “More Donne Manuscripts,” *John Donne Journal* 6, no. 2 (1987): 213.

¹⁹ All dates of preaching have been modernized and assume the year to start on 1 January. Cross-references are to STC and Wing for printed items; Keynes, PS, Grierson, and CELM refer to Keynes, *Bibliography of Donne*; Potter and Simpson, *Sermons of Donne*; Herbert J.C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1912); Peter Beal, “Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700,” 2014, <http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/>. CELM references are cited only when the item in question has been indexed there, but at present not all extracts from Donne have been included.

²⁰ HMC 22, fols. 1r, 325r.

²¹ Contextual research in this volume may yield further clues as to dating: selected sermons immediately preceding include “Dr Howitt preached at Whitthall Luke 17.32,” “Dr Wrens sermon Hosia 14.2,” “Mr Browns sermon Math. 15.28,” and “Bp of London, Jer. 6.16.”

²² John Donne, *Fifty Sermons* (London, 1649), 2I4v; for two more examples, see Donne, *Fifty Sermons*, N4r; John Donne, *LXXX Sermons* (London, 1640), 2F2v.

²³ Sean Kelsey, “Barrington, Joan, Lady Barrington (c.1558–1641),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, online edn. (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65888>.

²⁴ Arthur Searle, ed., *Barrington Family Letters 1628–1632*, Camden Society 4 (London, 1983), 42.

²⁵ Humfry Lynde, *Via Tuta: The Safe Way Leading All Christians ... to the True, Ancient, and Catholique Faith, Now Professed in the Church of England* (London, 1628), A2v.

²⁶ Another reason for Harris to send the book might have been the fact that Joan Barrington was herself experiencing a crisis of faith following her husband's death, see further Kelsey, "Barrington , Joan, Lady Barrington."

²⁷ Brian Vickers, ed., *Francis Bacon: The Major Works* (Oxford, 2002), 105.

²⁸ Cf. Potter and Simpson, *Sermons of Donne*, 6:18–21.

²⁹ Donne, *LXXX Sermons*, P5r.

³⁰ HMC 21, p. 1.

³¹ Donne, *LXXX Sermons*, P5r.

³² Donne, *LXXX Sermons*, P5v.

³³ HMC 21, p. 1.

³⁴ Donne, *LXXX Sermons*, P5v.

³⁵ Donne, *LXXX Sermons*, P5v.

³⁶ HMC 21, p. 1.

³⁷ Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, 95.

³⁸ Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, PA, 1939), II, 500.

³⁹ On the Latin reports in manuscript, from the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, and a report written or commissioned by George Montaigne, see further John N. Wall, "Situating Donne's Dedication Sermon at Lincoln's Inn, 22 May 1623," *John Donne Journal* 26 (2007): 159–239; John N. Wall and Zola M. Packman, "Worship at Trinity Chapel, Lincoln's Inn, London, 22 May 1623," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 81, no. 2 (2012): 113–207. The Society of Antiquaries manuscript was hitherto unknown to Donne scholars, and allows, with Russell's, for the unique opportunity to contrast two distinct hearer's accounts of the same sermon by Donne. These matters will be fully treated in the forthcoming *Textual Companion* volume to *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, and in *Volume 4, Sermons Preached at the Inns of Court*, edited by Katrin Ettenhuber.

⁴⁰ Baildon, *Records: Admissions*, I, 147; William Paley Baildon, Ronald Roxburgh, and Paul Vivian Baker, eds., *Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn, The Black Books Vol. II from A.D. 1586 to A.D. 1660*. (London, 1897), II, 140, 147, 150.

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- ⁴¹ Cited from SoA, MS 201, [fol. 1r].
- ⁴² John Donne, *Encaenia. The Feast of Dedication, Celebrated at Lincolnes Inne, in a Sermon There Vpon Ascension Day, 1623* (London, 1623), B3r, B4r, C1r; cf. HMC 20, pp. 77-78.
- ⁴³ HMC 20, p. 77.
- ⁴⁴ Donne, *Encaenia*, B3r; the full passage runs from B3r-C1v.
- ⁴⁵ Donne, *Encaenia*, C1v-C2r.
- ⁴⁶ HMC 20, p. 77.
- ⁴⁷ John Donne, *XXVI Sermons* (London, 1660), G3r.
- ⁴⁸ Donne, *XXVI Sermons*, G3v.
- ⁴⁹ Potter and Simpson, *Sermons of Donne*, III, 18.
- ⁵⁰ HMC 19, pp. 101, 114.
- ⁵¹ HMC 19, p. 102.
- ⁵² Donne, *XXVI Sermons*, H3r.
- ⁵³ Donne, *XXVI Sermons*, H4r.
- ⁵⁴ Donne, *XXVI Sermons*, H4r.
- ⁵⁵ HMC 19, p. 102.
- ⁵⁶ Victor Slater, "Sheffield, Edmund, First Earl of Mulgrave (1565-1646)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25293>.
- ⁵⁷ Acheson, *The Diary of Anne Clifford, 1616-1619: A Critical Edition*, 102.
- ⁵⁸ Cf. Potter and Simpson, *Sermons of Donne*, IV, 29.
- ⁵⁹ All contrasting quotations are cited from one of the two contemporary manuscripts: Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 8469, fol. 1r.
- ⁶⁰ CUL, MS Add. 8469, fol. 5r.
- ⁶¹ HMC 26, f. 87r.
- ⁶² CUL, MS Add. 8469, f. 5r.
- ⁶³ CUL, MS Add. 8469, f. 1v.

⁶⁴ John Donne, *The First Sermon Preached to King Charles* (London, 1625); see further Colclough, *Sermons at the Court of Charles I*, 257–73.

⁶⁵ HMC 21, p. 62 reversed.

⁶⁶ HMC 20, p. 5. Geoffrey Boleyn (1406-1463), Lord Mayor of London in 1457/8.

⁶⁷ Donne, *First Sermon*, H3v.

⁶⁸ HMC 21, p. 65 reversed.

⁶⁹ Donne, *First Sermon*, F3v; cf. HMC 21, p. 65. The pun may have been helped along by Donne's "massacres" (G1v), although the word is used here in an entirely different context.

⁷⁰ Donne, *First Sermon*, E4v.

⁷¹ Donne, *First Sermon*, E4v–F1r.

⁷² HMC 21, p. 64.

⁷³ Colclough, *Sermons at the Court of Charles I*, 257.

⁷⁴ Mary Morrissey, "John Donne as a Conventional Paul's Cross Preacher," in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. David Colclough (Cambridge, 2003), 167.

⁷⁵ Jeanne Shami, "'The Stars in Their Order Fought Against Sisera': John Donne and the Pulpit Crisis of 1622," *John Donne Journal* 14 (1995): 6.

⁷⁶ McClure, *Letters of Chamberlain*, II, 451.

⁷⁷ Shami, "Pulpit Crisis," 25–26; cf. Elisabeth Bourcier, ed., *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 1622-1624: Journal D'un Étudiant Londonien Sous Le Règne de Jacques Ier* (Paris, 1974), 97.

⁷⁸ HMC 20, p. 6; John Donne, *A Sermon Vpon the XV. Verse of the XX. Chapter of the Booke of Iudges* (London, 1622), H1r.

⁷⁹ HMC 20, pp. 5–6.

⁸⁰ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Iudges*, E3r; HMC 20, p. 5.

⁸¹ Russell, "Russell, Francis."

⁸² HMC 20, p. 5.

⁸³ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Iudges*, C1r.

⁸⁴ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Iudges*, C2v.

⁸⁵ HMC 20, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Iudges*, C2v; Donne employed the phrase “meum et tuum” elsewhere in his works, twice in the Devotions; in the Essayes in Divinity; and most significantly in his first extant sermon, preached on 23 January 1615: Donne, *XXVI Sermons*, Y2r.

⁸⁷ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Iudges*, K1v.

⁸⁸ HMC 20, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Iudges*, K1v.

⁹⁰ On 18 April 1626, Donne would preach again to the king, and this time he explicitly addressed the question of degrees of glory in heaven. See further Colclough, *Sermons at the Court of Charles I*, 290–91.

⁹¹ John Donne, *A Sermon Vpon the VIII Verse of the I. Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1622), A3r.

⁹² HMC 264; HMC 10.

⁹³ HMC 20, pp. 13–14; Donne, *Sermon Vpon Acts*, G1v–G2r.

⁹⁴ HMC 20, pp. 13–14.

⁹⁵ HMC 20, p. 14.

⁹⁶ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Acts*, G2r.

⁹⁷ HMC 20, p. 14.

⁹⁸ HMC 20, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Acts*, E4r.

¹⁰⁰ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Acts*, E2r.

¹⁰¹ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Acts*, E3v, E2v.

¹⁰² HMC 20, p. 14.

¹⁰³ HMC 20, pp. 42–43.

¹⁰⁴ Cited from the only extant manuscript of this sermon, British Library MS Harley 6946, fol. 38r.

¹⁰⁵ HMC 20, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Donne, *Sermon Vpon Acts*, E2v–E3r.

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- ¹⁰⁷ Cf. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy,” *Past & Present* no. 129 (1990): 30–78.
- ¹⁰⁸ HMC 18, fols. [*]v, 2v.
- ¹⁰⁹ HMC 18, fol. 3r.
- ¹¹⁰ HMC 11, II, 1794, III, 2089.
- ¹¹¹ HMC 11, II, 1794.
- ¹¹² HMC 11, II, 1578, 1175.
- ¹¹³ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), 127–48.
- ¹¹⁴ HMC 11, II, 1781.
- ¹¹⁵ HMC 21, p. 1.
- ¹¹⁶ HMC 21, fols. 49r, 81r.
- ¹¹⁷ HMC 21, fol. 46r.
- ¹¹⁸ CUL, MS Add. 8469, [fol. 15v].
- ¹¹⁹ HMC 26, fol. 89r.
- ¹²⁰ HMC 20, pp. 161-64, 164-76.
- ¹²¹ Cf. Bald, *Donne*, 451; Keynes, *Bibliography of Donne*, 81–83.
- ¹²² McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, Appendix: 278–83.
- ¹²³ Russell, “Russell, Francis.”
- ¹²⁴ Shami, “Pulpit Crisis,” 10.
- ¹²⁵ J.H. Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell; from the Times of the Norman Conquest* (London, 1833), II, 125–26.
- ¹²⁶ This essay is my pilot study of a comprehensive research project that is currently under way, dealing with the entirety of Russell’s manuscripts, and resulting in an annotated catalogue and monograph on early-modern reading.